

HART-TEETER
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Washington, DC 20009
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Study 4024page 19

Interviews: 1004 respondents
Date: December 6-9, 1991

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL-5:15 PM

Study #4024
NBC News/WSJ
December 1991

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[6] [7] 1	[8]	[9] [10] [11] 1	[12]	December [13] [14] 199 1									

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered.....	10	CONTINUE	[15]
	0		
No, not registered.....	-	TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT	
Not sure.....	-		

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

		NBC									
		11/91	10/9	9/91	8/9	7/91	6/91	5/91	3/9	2/91	12/9
			<u>1</u>		<u>1</u>			<u>1</u>			<u>0</u>
Right direction....		20	19	25	33	41	33	40	55	65	28
Wrong track.....		68	64	57	49	38	50	44	38	26	51
Mixed (VOL).....		9	13	13	14	15	12	13	17	15	9
Not sure.....		3	4	5	4	6	5	3	5	4	6
			<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>
			<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>				<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>		
			22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42
			59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34
			14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19
			5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5

3. Do you feel very confident, only fairly confident, or not at all confident that life for our children will be better than it has been for us?

		<u>10/90</u>	ROPER	
		11/83		
		All Adults		
Very confident.....	9	14	24	
Only fairly confident.....	3	36	38	
	5			
Not at all confident.....	5	45	33	
	1			
Not sure	5	5	5	

Study 4024page 19

4. I'm going to read you the names of several people who are active in politics. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. (READ EACH NAME AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu-tral</u>	<u>Somewha-t Negative</u>	<u>Very Negativ-e</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
George Bush							[18]
December 1991.....	19	35	13	19	13	1	
October 1991.....	27	35	15	12	10	1	
June 1991.....	38	33	10	11	7	-	
May 1991.....	42	35	10	8	4	1	
March 1991.....	50	30	9	6	4	1	
October 1990.....	20	36	17	15	11	1	
July 1990.....	26	42	16	10	5	1	
May 1990.....	28	40	15	11	5	1	
March 1990.....	32	37	15	10	5	1	
December 1989.....	28	33	21	11	5	2	
November 1989.....	24	38	17	11	8	2	
Paul Tsongas							[19]
December 1991.....	1	7	16	5	2	69	
October 1991.....	1	7	13	6	3	70	
Bob Kerrey							[20]
December 1991.....	1	11	16	5	2	65	
October 1991.....	1	8	14	5	3	69	
Jerry Brown							[21]
December 1991.....	3	15	22	16	12	32	
October 1991.....	3	14	21	15	13	34	
Patrick J. Buchanan							[22]
December 1991.....	3	15	18	8	9	47	
Doug Wilder							[23]
December 1991.....	2	10	17	7	5	59	
October 1991.....	2	9	13	6	4	66	
Bill Clinton							[24]
December 1991.....	3	12	13	4	2	66	
October 1991.....	3	7	14	5	2	69	
David Duke							[25]
December 1991.....	2	6	8	10	64	10	
Mario Cuomo							[26]
December 1991.....	8	21	20	14	11	26	
October 1991.....	8	16	21	11	9	35	
March 1991.....	7	18	23	10	7	35	
October 1990.....	10	17	22	11	6	34	
Tom Harkin							[27]
December 1991.....	2	10	16	5	3	64	
October 1991.....	2	7	13	4	3	71	
Dan Quayle							[28]
December 1991.....	7	25	28	20	18	2	
October 1991.....	10	25	28	15	18	4	
June 1991.....	9	24	30	18	15	3	
May 1991.....	9	25	27	17	18	4	
March 1991.....	7	26	29	15	18	5	
October 1990.....	5	22	28	19	19	7	
July 1990.....	6	22	33	16	14	9	
May 1990.....	7	22	29	18	19	5	
March 1990.....	7	21	28	17	19	8	
November 1989.....	7	22	26	17	21	7	

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

		NBC											
		11/91	10/9	9/91	8/91	7/91	6/9	5/9	3/9	2/9	1/9	12/9	
Approve.....	52	51	63	64	70	67	76	74	81	85	77	57	[29] 1
Disapprove....	41	39	30	27	21	25	21	19	13	11	15	36	
Not sure.....	7	10	7	9	9	8	3	7	6	4	8	7	
		10/30	10/19-	9/90	7/9	5/9	4/9	3/9	1/9	11/8			
		-	21/90	0	0	0	0	0	0	9			
		31/90		56	59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67	
				32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22	
				12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	

5b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

		10/91	9/91	7/91	6/91	5/9	3/91	12/9	10/9	9/90	7/90	5/90	4/9	3/9	1/9	11/8	9/89	
Approve.....	23	31	41	38	47	44	44	37	35	52	48	51	59	53	54	52	61	[30]
Disapprove....	71	61	51	52	48	44	45	54	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33	24	
Not sure.....	6	8	8	10	5	12	11	9	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15	

5c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

		10/91	9/91	7/91	6/91	5/91	3/91	12/9	10/9	9/90	7/90	5/90	4/90	3/90	1/90	11/89	9/89	
Approve.....	6	70	71	74	74	76	83	56	63	75	67	67	70	67	69	59	58	[31]
	8							0	0									
Disapprove.	2	23	23	21	21	18	11	37	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27	26	
	6																	
Not sure....	6	7	6	5	5	6	6	7	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16	

6. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: "George Bush is a strong leader."

(IF "AGREE," THEN ASK:) Would you say you strongly agree or just somewhat agree?

(IF "DISAGREE," THEN ASK:) Would you say you strongly disagree or just somewhat disagree?

Strongly agree.....	32	[32] 1
Just somewhat agree.	34	
Just somewhat disagree.....	20	
Strongly disagree.....	13	
Not sure.....	1	

7. Would you say that you and your family are better off or worse off than you were four years ago?

		10/91
Better off.....	42	40
Worse off.....	39	37
About the same (VOL).....	17	22

8a. Over the past year, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

		10/91	9/91	7/91	6/9	5/9	12/9	10/9	9/9	7/9	5/9	4/9	3/9	1/9	11/8	9/8
Better.....	3	6	8	9	11	1	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	9
Worse.....	74	67	57	64	54	64	73	72	57	37	36	30	37	29	34	23
Stayed about the same	22	26	33	26	35	27	23	24	35	51	52	56	48	57	49	57
Not sure.....	1	1	2	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2

8b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

		10/91	9/91	7/9	6/91	5/91	3/91	1/91	12/9	10/9	9/90	7/90	5/90	4/9	3/9	1/9	11/8	9/8	
Better.....	2	26	32	34	37	37	46	25	21	0	13	16	20	22	24	0	0	9	9
Worse.....	3	32	24	24	23	22	20	40	45	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23	
Stay about the same.....	3	37	39	37	37	38	27	28	30	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43	
Not sure.....	5	5	5	5	3	3	7	7	4	5	9	7	5	5	5	6	7	9	

9. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? (**READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.**)

		10/91	9/91	7/91	6/91	5/91	3/91	12/9	10/9	9/90	7/90	5/9	3/9	1/90	9/89		
Inflation.....	8	10	10	9	9	9	10	0	11	13	13	8	9	0	13	12	12
Unemployment.....	4	39	37	35	30	32	31	26	16	22	21	22	20	23	23		
Interest rates.....	3	3	3	3	4	2	3	3	2	3	4	5	5	4	4		
The federal budget deficit	1	24	23	27	34	29	32	35	43	34	37	35	30	29	32		
Federal taxes.....	4	7	6	7	7	6	6	7	10	5	9	9	7	7	8		
The U.S. trade deficit.....	8	8	8	10	11	11	10	11	9	14	14	14	17	18	15		
All equally important (VOL).....	9	8	10	6	3	10	6	6	6	6	6	4	6	5	4		
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-		
Not sure.....	1	1	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2		

10a. Generally speaking, would you say your own family's financial situation is in good shape, only fair shape, or poor shape?

		10/91	9/91	7/9	6/9	5/9	3/9	1/9
Good shape...	35	32	35	36	37	40	43	37
Only fair shape.....	51	53	49	50	50	47	45	51
Poor shape.....	13	15	15	13	13	12	12	12
Not sure.....	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-

10b. Do you plan to spend more money on Christmas shopping this year than you did last year, less money, or about the same amount?

		10/91	12/90	NBC 11/30- 12/1/87	NBC 10/87*
More.....	9	6	10	16	11

Less.....	7	Study 4024	page 469	28	30
About the same amount.....	4	46	44	55	58
Not sure.....	3	1	-	1	1

11a. Do you think the U.S. is or is not currently in an economic recession?

Yes, is in a recession.....	88	9/91*	12/90	CONTINU E	[39]
No, is not in a recession.....	9	18	27	SKIP TO Q.12.	
Not sure.....	3	7	8		

*All adults

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAID "YES" IN Q.11a)

11b. Has the recession directly affected you and your family, or have you not been affected by it?

(IF "AFFECTED," ASK:) Would you say it has had a big or a small effect on you and your family?

		<u>9/91*</u>	<u>12/90¹</u>	
YES, AFFECTED				
Big effect.....	26	26	NA	[40]
Small effect.....	33	32	NA	
Not sure.....	1	2	NA	
NO, NOT AFFECTED	40	39	45	
NOT SURE IF AFFECTED	-	1	NA	

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAID "YES" IN Q.11a)

11c. Do you think the recession is mild or severe?

		<u>9/91*</u>	<u>12/90</u>	
Mild.....	40	59	45	[41]
Severe.....	51	32	39	
In between (VOL).....	8	7	9	
Not sure.....	1	2	7	

*All adults

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAID "YES" IN Q.11a)

11d. Do you think the worst of the recession is over or is yet to come?

		<u>9/91</u>	
	All		
	Adults		
Worst of recession is over.....	28	43	[42]
Worst is yet to come.....	62	49	
Not sure.....	10	8	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

12. Who do you blame most for the country's economic problems? **(READ LIST. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE.)**

President Bush.....	20	[43]
The Federal Reserve.....	4	
Democrats in Congress...	22	
Banks.....	9	
The normal business cycle.....	21	
All equally (VOL).....	12	
None of these (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	5	

13. President Bush and Congress are considering a number of new proposals to try to improve the economy. If President Bush were to phone you and ask for suggestions about what the federal government should do to improve the economy, what would you suggest?

(PROBE:) Anything else?

More jobs; unemployment rate is too high	26%		
Reduce taxes; give working class a break; less taxes for the poor and more for the rich	18	[44-47]	
Reduce foreign aid; take care of America first; use that money to help America	16		
Balance trade, fair trade; we should buy American	11		
Reduce government waste, spending	10		

Don't know; no response	14		

14. Do you think Congress should or should not pass a tax cut as a way to help stimulate the U.S. economy?

Should pass a tax cut.....	57	<u>11/91</u> 55	<u>10/91</u> 55	[48]
Should not pass a tax cut.....	31	30	32	
Not sure.....	12	15	13	

(FORM A ONLY)

15. Let me read you a number of different actions the federal government could take to try to improve the economy. For each action I mention, please tell me how effective you think this would be in improving the economy--very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not effective at all. (READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE.)

	Very <u>Effectiv e</u>	Somewha t <u>Effective</u>	Not Very <u>Effectiv e</u>	Not Effectiv e <u>At All</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Enacting a tax cut for individuals.....	20	49	20	8	3	[49]
Cutting defense spending and using the savings to increase spending on dams, bridges, and public works.....	30	39	18	11	2	[50]
Raising taxes to help reduce the federal budget deficit.....	7	22	30	39	2	[51]
Cutting the capital gains tax rate on the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate.....	17	40	18	16	9	[52]
Cutting interest rates.....	32	42	14	9	3	[53]
Not taking government action and letting the private sector deal with the economy.....	15	25	27	26	7	[54]
Enacting a tax cut for businesses and investors.....	25	37	18	15	5	[55]

(FORM B ONLY)

16. Suppose Congress and President Bush decide to cut taxes. There are many proposals on which taxes to cut, but the country cannot afford to do everything. With this in mind, please tell me whether you think each of the following plans is a good idea or a bad idea. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE.)**

	<u>Good Idea</u>	<u>Bad Idea</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
A cut in the capital gains tax rate on profits from the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate.....	48	39	13	[56]
A cut in the Social Security payroll tax.....	27	67	6	[57]
An increase in the personal income tax exemption.....	64	28	8	[58]
A cut in the corporate income tax rate.....	28	60	12	[59]
A tax credit for first-time home buyers.....	85	11	4	[60]
A tax credit for companies that invest in new plants and equipment.....	71	19	10	[61]

(BOTH FORMS)

17. If Congress decides to reduce defense spending because of the recent changes in the Soviet Union, which one of the following do you think would be the best use of the savings that would result? **(READ CHOICES. ROTATE.)**

		<u>10/91</u>	
A) Reduce taxes.....	11	14	[62]
B) Increase spending on health and education.....	47	45	
C) Reduce the federal budget deficit.....	33	35	
Some of each (VOL).....	5	3	
Other/none of these (VOL).....	1	1	
Should not reduce defense spending (VOL).....	1	1	
Not sure.....	2	1	

18. Let us suppose the government needs to raise taxes. Would you favor or oppose enacting a 10% surtax on individuals with an income over one million dollars.

		<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/9</u>	
Favor.....	87	81	84	[63]
Oppose.....	10	15	14	
Not sure.....	3	4	2	

19. And would you favor or oppose raising taxes on individuals with an income over one hundred thousand dollars in order to cut taxes for individuals who make less than that?

Favor.....	7	[64]
	4	
Oppose.....	2	
	2	
Not sure	4	

20a. Do you own your home?

Yes, own home.....	73	CONTINU	<u>9/91*</u>	<u>9/90</u>	
			60	68	[65]

No, do not own home.....	26	SKIP TO Q.21.	39	31
Not sure.....	1		1	1

*All adults

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY THEY OWN THEIR HOME IN Q.20a)

20b. Do you think you could sell your home today for more than you would have gotten a year ago, less than you would have gotten a year ago, or about the same amount?

		9/91*	9/90	
More.....	15	28	34	[66]
Less.....	39	30	27	
About the same amount.....	44	38	37	
Not sure.....	2	4	2	

*All adults

(ASK EVERYONE.)

21. Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view: **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)**

STATEMENT A: Congress should pass legislation requiring banks and other financial institutions to lower the interest rate they charge on credit card balances because the current interest rates are too high.

OR

STATEMENT B: Congress should not pass legislation to lower the interest rate charged on credit card balances because then banks and other financial institutions would have to exclude many people from being eligible for credit cards.

Statement A.....	5	[67]
	9	
Statement B.....	3	
	3	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	5	

22a. Do you have any credit cards?

Yes, have credit cards.....	7	CONTINUE	[68]
	7		
No, do not have credit cards.....	2	SKIP TO	
	3		
Not sure.....	-	Q.23.	

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY THEY HAVE CREDIT CARDS IN Q.22b)

22b. In general, do you usually pay off your entire credit card balance in full each month, or do you usually pay off your balance over time?

Pay off entire balance.....	5	[69]
	1	
Pay over time.....	4	
	1	
Depends (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	1	

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY THEY HAVE CREDIT CARDS IN Q.22b)

22c. Which of the following reasons is most important to you in selecting a new credit card--the annual membership fee, the interest rate, the size of the credit line, or some other reason?

The annual membership fee.....	2	[70]
	2	
The interest rate.....	4	
	4	
The size of the credit line.....	6	
Some other reason.....	1	
	8	
All equally (VOL).....	3	
None of these (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	3	

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY THEY HAVE CREDIT CARDS IN Q.22b)

22d. In the past six months, have you changed the major credit card you use for most of your credit card purchases because of a lower interest rate or annual membership fee?

Yes, have changed.....	2	[71]
	1	
No, have not changed.....	7	
	7	
Not sure.....	2	

Now, I'd like to ask you about foreign affairs and foreign policy.

(ASK EVERYONE.)

23. Do you think the United States did or did not end the war with Iraq too soon?

		<u>7/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	
Did end war too soon.....	6	66	54	[72]
	3			
Did not end war too soon.....	3	31	40	
	2			
Not sure.....	5	3	6	

24. In general, who do you think is currently the biggest obstacle to finding a peace settlement in the Arab-Israeli dispute--**(READ CHOICES)**? **(ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	
The Arab nations.....	29	35	33	35	[73]
Israel.....	41	37	34	37	
Both equally (VOL).....	15	14	16	11	
Neither (VOL).....	2	1	1	2	
Not sure.....	13	13	16	15	

25a. As you may know, Israel and the Arab nations have been meeting in an effort to reach a peace agreement. How likely do you think it is that these talks will lead to a lasting peace between Israel and the Arab nations--very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

		<u>10/91</u>	
Very likely.....	6	3	[74]
Somewhat likely.....	2	20	
	7		
Not very likely.....	3	44	
	9		
Not at all likely.....	2	31	
	5		
Not sure.....	3	2	

25b. As you may know, the United States has been involved in organizing the peace talks between Israel and the Arab nations. In general, do you think the United States should be involved in trying to get Israel and the Arab nations to reach a peace agreement, or is this something that the United States should leave Israel and the Arab nations to deal with themselves?

United States should be involved.....	5	[75]
	5	
United States should leave this for Israel and the Arab nations.....	4	
	0	
Not sure.....	5	

26a. Do you think it would be better--for the United States--if the republics that have formed the Soviet Union remain together as one nation, or if they break apart and form separate nations?

Better if republics stay together.....	4	<u>8/91</u>	
	3	43	[76]

Better if republics break up	8	40
Both equally (VOL).....	1	2
Neither (VOL).....	2	1
Not sure	1	14
	6	

26b. How concerned are you that the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union may no longer be controlled by the leaders of the central government--extremely concerned, quite concerned, just somewhat concerned, or not that concerned?

Extremely concerned.....	2	35	<u>8/91</u>
	7		[77]
Quite concerned.....	2	22	
	5		
Just somewhat concerned.....	3	27	
	1		
Not that concerned.....	1	14	
	5		
Not sure	2	2	

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about health care in the United States.

27a. In general, how satisfied are you with the health care your family receives--very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not satisfied at all?

Very satisfied.....	3	<u>8/91</u>
	3	
Somewhat satisfied.....	4	
	0	
Not very satisfied.....	1	
	4	
Not satisfied at all.....	1	
	2	
Not sure	1	

27b. Which one of the following six groups do you think is most responsible for the high cost of health care? **(READ LIST. ROTATE. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**

Doctors.....	1	21	<u>6/91</u>
	9		[79]
Hospitals.....	1	12	
	5		
The federal government.....	8	10	
Patients.....	2	2	
Lawyers.....	1	16	
	4		
Health insurance companies.....	2	28	
	5		
All equally (VOL).....	1	7	
	3		
None of these (VOL).....	1	*	
Not sure	3	3	

27c. Do you think all employers, regardless of size, should or should not be required to provide health insurance for their employees?

Should be required.....	6	68	<u>6/91</u>
	7		[80]
Should not be required.....	2	30	
	9		
Not sure.....	4	3	

27d. Which of the following three choices would you favor most as a way to improve the health care system in the United States? (**READ CHOICES. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.**)

A) A health care plan in which businesses must either provide coverage for all their all employees or pay into a federal fund that would cover all uninsured Americans.....	3	[81]
	1	

B) A national health care plan covering all people that is administered by the federal government, instead of private insurance companies, and is financed by taxpayers instead of health insurance premiums.....	4	
	1	

OR

C) Leaving the present system alone.....	1	
	9	

All equally (VOL).....	2	
------------------------	---	--

None of these (VOL).....	3	
--------------------------	---	--

Not sure	4	
----------------	---	--

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about American government.

28a. How much would you say you know about the U.S. Bill of Rights--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

A great deal.....	5	[82]
Quite a bit.....	2	
	1	
Just some.....	4	
	9	
Very little.....	2	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	

28b. If I were to ask you to name the ten amendments that make up the U.S. Bill of Rights, how many could you name--all of them, most of them, a few of them, or none?

All of them.....	1	[83]
Most of them.....	1	
	6	
A few of them.....	5	
	7	
None.....	2	
	4	
Not sure.....	2	

29. Many individual freedoms in the United States are guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. If you wanted to read the Bill of Rights, in which of the following documents would you look? (**READ LIST. ROTATE.**)

The Declaration of Independence.....	1	[84]
	6	
The Magna Carta.....	3	
The U.S. Constitution.....	7	
	2	
The Gettysburg Address.....	1	
None of these (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	7	

30. Let me read you a number of different proposals people have made about how to change the U.S. Constitution. For each proposal, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose this change in the Constitution.

(READ EACH ITEM AND ASK:) Would you favor or oppose this change in the Constitution?
(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE.)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Amending the Constitution so that television shows, radio programs, and written materials that are offensive to many people could be banned.....	36	61	3	[85]
Amending the Constitution to require more government funding so that the public defender system can provide the poor with quality legal counsel	60	36	4	[86]
Amending the Constitution specifically to allow prayer in school.....	61	35	4	[87]
Amending the Constitution specifically to give individual citizens the right to possess handguns and semi-automatic weapons.....	28	66	6	[88]
Amending the Constitution to allow law enforcement officers to use illegally obtained evidence against a defendant as long as they make a good faith effort to obtain the evidence legally.....	43	52	5	[89]
Amending the Constitution to outlaw the death penalty as cruel and unusual punishment.....	20	76	4	[90]
Amending the Constitution to make it legal for colleges and universities to ban certain kinds of speech that many people find offensive or demeaning.....	27	68	5	[91]
Amending the Constitution to outlaw the carrying of concealed firearms by individual citizens.....	46	50	4	[92]
Amending the Constitution to require that everyone accused of a crime be accompanied by a lawyer during all questioning by law enforcement officers.	63	33	4	[93]

Now, let me ask you a few questions about public affairs, politics, and elections.

31a. Do you think America is in a state of decline, or do you feel that this is not the case?

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90*</u>	
State of decline.....	63	53	31	
Not in state of decline.....	32	42	63	
Not sure.....	5	5	6	[94]

* The question read, "Do you think American is in a permanent state of decline?"

31b. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The economic and political systems in this country are stacked against people like me"?

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>10/23- 26/88*</u>	<u>10/14- 16/88*</u>	<u>9/88</u>	<u>8/88</u>	
Agree.....	4	48	42	43	50	43	51	[95]
	4							
Disagree.....	4	46	54	48	42	46	39	
	9							
Not sure.....	7	6	4	9	8	11	10	

* The question read, "Do you think the political and economic systems in this country are stacked against people like you, or don't you think so?"

32a. Looking ahead to the 1992 election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	27	31	29	31	32	33	34	25	26	27	29	[96]
		0								9		
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	33	34	33	40	37	36	33	34	31	32	32	
Depends (VOL).....	26	20	24	12	14	17	22	29	33	28	24	
Neither (VOL).....	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	
Not sure.....	13	14	13	14	16	12	10	10	8	12	14	

32b. Looking ahead to the 1992 election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	
Reelect representative.....	35	40	39	41	[97]
Give new person a chance.....	52	48	48	36	
Not sure.....	13	12	13	23	

33. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	CONTINUE	[98]
	2		
Not strong Democrat.....	1		
	4		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	1		
	3		
Strictly Independent.....	1		
	6		
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	SKIP TO Q.35.	
	2		
Not strong Republican.....	1		
	5		
Strong Republican.....	1		
	1		
Other.....	5	SKIP TO Q.36.	
Refused.....	1		
Don't know/nothing.....	1		

(ASK OF ALL DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS IN Q.33.)

34a. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 1992 Democratic nomination for president. If the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you favor? **(READ LIST. ROTATE.)**

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

		NBC 11/91	10/91	[99] 1
Jerry Brown.....	11	12	13	
Bill Clinton.....	8	6	6	
Mario Cuomo	30	28	31	
Tom Harkin.....	5	5	2	
Bob Kerrey.....	4	6	5	
Paul Tsongas	3	2	3	
Doug Wilder.....	8	4	8	
Someone else (VOL).....	3	2	1	
None (VOL).....	9	10	7	
Not sure.....	19	25	24	

(ASK OF ALL DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS IN Q.33.)

34b. Let me read you another list of people who might seek the 1992 Democratic nomination for president. If the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you favor? **(READ LIST. ROTATE.)**

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

		NBC 11/91	10/9	9/91		
Jerry Brown.....	18	20	21	11	IF	[100] 1
Bill Clinton.....	10	8	9	5	"STRICTLY INDEPENDENT"	
Tom Harkin.....	8	6	4	6	IN Q.33, CONTINUE.	

Bob Kerrey.....	7	7	Study 48	24	page 619	ALL OTHERS
Paul Tsongas	4	5	5	5		SKIP
Doug Wilder.....	11	7	10	7		TO
Someone else (VOL).....	4	2	2	2		Q.36.
None (VOL).....	11	13	10	17		
Not sure.....	27	32	31	41		

(ASK OF ALL REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS IN Q.36.)

35. If the 1992 Republican presidential primary election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, Patrick J. Buchanan, and David Duke, for whom would you vote--Bush, Buchanan, or Duke?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

George Bush.....	7	[101]
	5	
Lean Bush.....	3	
Patrick J. Buchanan.....	8	
Lean Buchanan.....	1	
David Duke.....	3	
Lean Duke.....	1	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	7	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

36. Looking ahead to the next election for president, George Bush will be running for reelection as the Republican candidate for president. Will you definitely vote for Bush in that election, probably vote for Bush, probably vote for the Democratic candidate, or definitely vote for the Democratic candidate?

Definitely vote for Bush.....	2	20	[102]
	0		
Probably vote for Bush.....	2	34	
	8		
Probably vote for the Democratic candidate.....	1	15	
	8		
Definitely vote for the Democratic candidate.....	1	15	
	8		
Depends (VOL).....	9	11	
Not sure.....	7	5	

37. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Mario Cuomo ("QUO-moe"), the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Cuomo?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	[103]
George Bush.....	5	54	60	61	67	52	
	0						
Lean Bush.....	4	3	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Mario Cuomo.....	3	31	30	27	22	35	
	1						
Lean Cuomo.....	4	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Neither (VOL).....	2	1	2	3	2	3	
Not sure.....	9	9	8	9	9	10	

38. In voting for president who would you prefer--someone who has experience in and is knowledgeable about Washington, or someone who is not part of the Washington establishment?

Someone who has experience in and is knowledgeable about Washington.....	5	[104]
	4	
Someone who is not part of the Washington establishment.....	3	
	2	
Both equally (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	8	

39. For each item I mention, I would like you to tell me how much confidence you have in George Bush as president in that area using a scale of 1 to 5. On this scale, a rating of "5" means you have a great deal of confidence in George Bush as president in that area, and a rating of "1" means you have very little confidence in George Bush as president in that area. **(MAKE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS SCALE. READ EACH ITEM AND RECORD SCORE. IF RESPONDENT CANNOT RATE CONFIDENCE IN AN AREA, RECORD A "6.")**

	Very Little	A Grea					Canno tRate
		1	2	3	4	5	
Dealing with the U.S. economy							[105] 1
December 1991.....	24	23	34	13	5	1	
July 1991.....	11	20	43	18	7	1	
Dealing with national security and foreign policy							[106] 1
December 1991.....	6	10	20	33	30	1	
July 1991.....	5	7	14	36	36	2	
Dealing with domestic issues, such as education, health care, and the environment							[107] 1
December 1991.....	25	25	31	12	6	1	
July 1991.....	19	26	33	15	6	1	

Getting to the end of our survey:

40. Compared to other years, do you think 1991 was one of the best years for the United States, above average, about average, below average, or one of the worst years?

One of the best.....	3	[108]
Above average.....	1	
	1	
About average.....	3	
	0	
Below average.....	3	
	9	
One of the worst.....	1	
	6	
Not sure.....	1	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1988 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, or Michael Dukakis, the Democrat?

Didn't vote.....	7	[109]
Voted for George Bush.....	5	
	7	
Voted for Michael Dukakis.....	2	
	8	
Other candidate (VOL).....	2	
Too young (VOL).....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	4	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	5	[110]
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	7	
Moderate.....	2	
	7	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	5	
Very conservative.....	9	
No thoughts.....	1	
	5	
Not sure.....	2	

F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

Grade school.....	1	[111]
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	3	
	2	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	7	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	1	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	9	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	8	[112]
25-29.....	1	
	1	
30-34.....	1	
	2	
35-39.....	1	
	1	
40-44.....	1	
	1	
45-49.....	9	
50-54.....	7	
55-59.....	6	
60-64.....	8	
65 and over.....	1	
	7	
Not sure/refused.....	-	

F5. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

JOB DESCRIPTION: _____		
-----OFFICE USE		
	2	[113]
Professional/manager.....	2	
White collar worker.....	2	
	5	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	0	
Farmer.....	2	
Student.....	4	
Homemaker.....	8	
Retired.....	1	

Study 4024page 19 7
Unemployed..... 2
Never worked/not sure..... -

F6. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	1	[114]
	2	
Labor union household.....	8	
Non-union household.....	7	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	

F7. What is your marital status--are you ~~single, never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?~~ [115]

Single.....	1	[115]
	7	
Married.....	6	
	3	
Separated.....	2	
Divorced.....	1	
	0	
Widowed.....	8	
Not sure/refused.....	-	

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	[116]
	6	
Catholic.....	2	
	9	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	8	
None.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	8	[117]
	1	
Black.....	1	
	0	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	7	[118]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	2	
Not sure/refused.....	4	